waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among the ArGHons[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for "bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usually from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

[1] [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

765 587 [581] a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 775 [135] RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 652 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue obtained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

5: Ribbach--47 M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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DROGPA NAMGYAL'S WEDDING

THE SEARCH FOR A BRIDE AND MATCH-MAKING

Discussions About Arrangements

"Beers"

Namgyal was now almost one and a half yearcycles (18 years) old, and as such he had long since entered the marriageable age, according to the conception of the peoples of the East. He could have married three or four years earlier, but in the Dragshos house early marriage was not favored. Namgyal had taken a liking to pretty Trashi Rolma from the neighboring house of the Pahnpa. They had grown up and played together, had driven the goats into the mountains and gathered wood for fuel together; they had met almost every day in the village or in the field, and it seemed arranged between the two even without many words that they would some day become man and wife. So, too, thought many wise women of the neighborhood. But they hadn't reckoned with the host, that is to say the p'as-pun, the close relatives, and above all grandmother Tsering Putrid. They had quite different plans. 581

One evening in late autumn, after the wheat harvest had been brought in, the grain had been threshed and stored away in the granary, and, at a moment when there was time for such matters, the family council came together to discuss this important matter. Aside from the parents and the grandmother there were also gathered together two uncles who likewise belonged to the p'as-pun as well as a few other men from the neighborhood, members of the tribe. Amid the expenditure of many words and much beer (chang) (27) they discussed the problem /54/

27. The Tibetans brew a beer (chang, ĉan) from barley which is boiled, whereupon a leaven (p'abs) is added to the extract. After the fluid has fermented it gives off a somewhat sour beer which has an intoxicating effect. [273]

of whom Namgyal should marry. He himself was not consulted in this argument.

At first Namgyal's mother, Palskyid, risked a timid attempt to support his marriage to Trashi Rolma. She contended that she was a good girl and that no one could say anything bad about her; that she was

• 581 industrious and knew something about the mangement of a household and of fields; that one never saw her without the tsepo (the little carrying basket) on her back, a sign of how active she was in the gathering of fuel; in the evening she was always to be seen at home, she did not wander about like certain other girls, and--the two also liked each other. But with this she had little luck. Tsering Putrid, her mother-in-law, interrupted her and said: "Oh, what nonsense you are prattling. You know nothing about these matters! Nothing can come of those two. I do not want to say anything against Trashi Rolma; she may be a very nice girl. And her parents, our neighbors in the Pahnpa house, are sensible, pious people; but Trashi Rolma is no bride for my grandson. Her father is only a small farmer, he has only one horse which is blind in one eye, two cows and only about twenty sheep and goats; his field holdings are only average and they have a bad location. It is also whispered about that the Pahnpa owes the monastery Lamayuru 200 khal (1 khal equals 45 liters) of grain. And what is worst of all:
[563] in the veins of the Pahnpa there is Drogpa blood. The grandmother of Trashi Rolma was a Drogmo (aBrog-mo, a woman from the Aryan tribe of the despised Drogpa) from Dah (28), and you know that we

28. Dah--a village on the upper Indus River which is entirely populated by the Aryan Drogpa (Dards).

Bodpa (Tibetans) have nothing in common with the Drogpas. Our race, the Dragshos, is an old, distinguished race; it belonged to the officials' nobility at the time of the Ladakh kings. I was actually supposed to have had a galon (nobleman) for husband, but since my father had lost a great deal of his property and was no longer wealthy, the galon got the other one who could bring a larger dowry with her. In no case may a Drogmo come into this house as a bride."

The relatives and p'as-pun could not remain uninfluenced by these weighty considerations. Mother Palskyid did not dare make any more objections. Namgyal, who had been standing by the door listening, heard with painful feelings how they went over his wishes and on to the agenda. There followed a discussion that lasted for hours /55/ and which became all the more excited as the chang flowed ever more plentifully. The women were ceaselessly pouring the beer for the men with a ladle into their little wooden drinking bowls which stood in front of them on the small, low tables, as soon as the bowls were so much as half empty. That was the custom. Nobody was supposed to be able to count how many kore (little bowls) he had drunk.

Someone suggested as a bride Palmo from the house of the Oil- 581
man (sNum-pa); she was a good girl and industrious, he suggested, and the property of her father was considerable and free of debt. But she too, was not agreeable to Tsering Putrid. She admitted that the girl was industrious and--so far as one knew--free of blame, but she was ugly and thick-set "like a chorten," and stupid as an ass; she would not do for her handsome and intelligent grandson. Moreover she was a blabbermouth. To her applied the proverb: The thundering cloud has [538]
no rain, the garrulous girl--no wedding. "Yes, talkativeness in general," said Tsering Putrid, "there are also blabbermouths among the men"; and in so saying she shot a glance at Bandhepa who was always swaggering. "Another proverb says: A big river has no ford, big words have no content!" This did not really fit into the argument, but the old woman was annoyed that Bandhepa made himself so important. With this the others agreed again and so Palmo was also finished as the future bride.

Finally, after long arguments back and forth, uncle Stobsldan ("the strong one"), the brother of Lobsang Wanggyal, declared: "I know a suitable bride. The daughter of the wealthy farmer Norbu Wangchug (precious stone--the mighty one) in Tingmogang (29). Her

29. Tingmogang--a large village in Lower Ladakh.

father owns two houses with the fields that belong to them, which all have a good location, as well as a lot of cattle; he also carries on exchange trade with the nomads Jangtang; he lends grain and money"--"at usurious rates" a voice interrupted him. "Quiet!" the others shouted. "He is the wealthiest man in the entire district." Bandhepa objected that there was all kinds of talk about that girl, Chosskyid; she was supposed to be frivolous, she was supposed to go around with young men, and other things of the kind. "Ah," said Tsang Sodnam, Namgyal's maternal uncle, "it won't be that bad; such a young, pretty girl likes to have her fun once in a while, and if one /56/ wanted to be sure that a girl was completely blameless one could search throughout Ladakh, in all the villages and drogs (outposts), and one would scarcely be able to find one. And moreover," and in saying this he looked at Bandhepa with a shrewd and malicious smile, "if a yak should run over your face [538]
you would not see it; but if a louse runs across someone else's face then you see it immediately." (30) At that Bandhepa was silent, the others

30. Tibetan proverb. Compare Matthew 7.3.

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again: "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh). Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist. They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool, dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudgery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambition of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls described in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior social position, have a large degree of independence in their sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

[1] [i.e. Lahuli women— ANALYST]

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
581 there are only girls in the family, what
592 usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
592 around which the system functions. In
taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman,
the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on